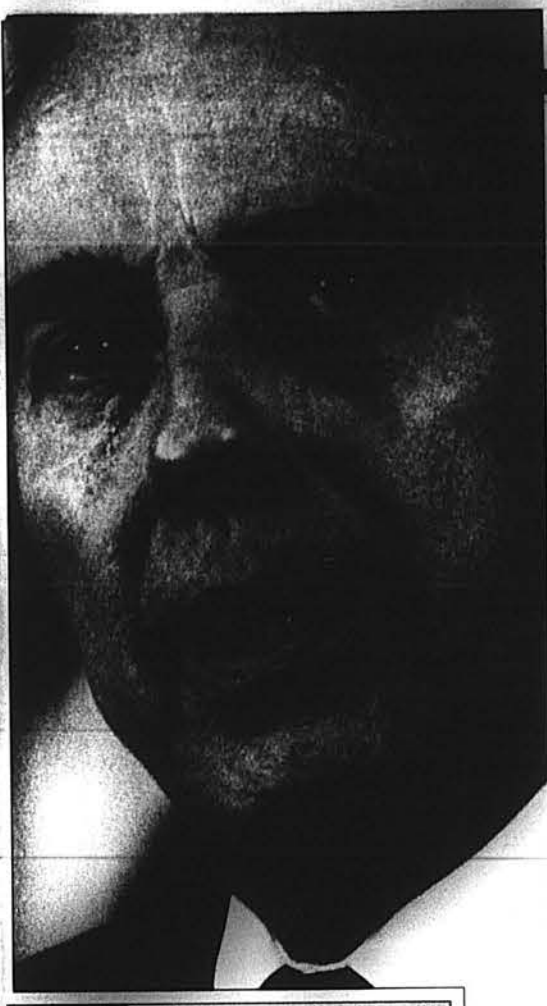
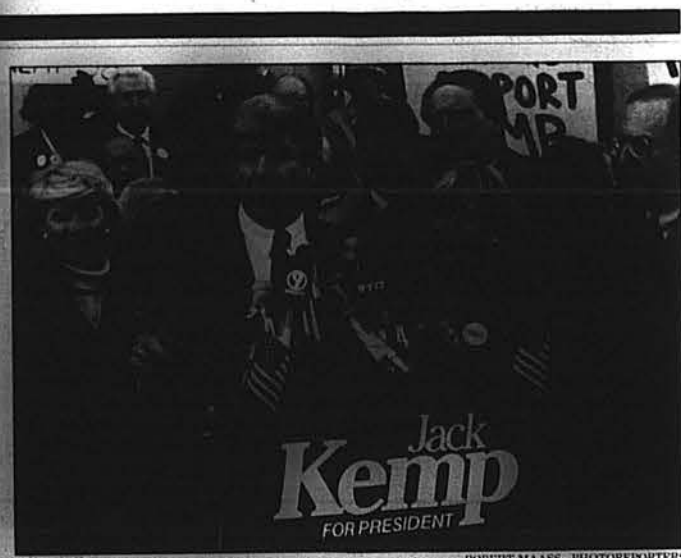


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up and Robertson stuns the establishment



Who represents the far right? Kemp protesting a Robertson 'smear'

supporters turned out statewide and the Bush campaign was swamped. What made Robertson's showing all the more impressive was the fact that the turnout for the Republican caucus set an Iowa record—and what gave pause to politicians of both parties was the fact that Robertson's total was higher than that of any single Democrat.

What did Bush in, similarly, was a classic example of the front-runner blahs—early overconfidence, shallow support from unenthusiastic mainstream Republicans and a candidacy that seemed based on some vague presumption of inevitability rather than any cogent appeal to the voters. Trailing Dole among Iowa voters for months, he failed to mount the sort of focused and energetic stretch drive that might have prevented the wholesale erosion of his support on caucus night. His own staff was deeply divided over tactics. The field staff wanted Bush to run the kind of hands-on, informal campaign that worked so well in 1980, when Bush upset Ronald Reagan in Iowa. But the vice presidential staff and the Secret Service kept the candidate insulated from the voters. After Christmas, aware that Bush was losing ground, his handlers opted for a belated get-tough strategy that may have backfired. Bush's confrontation with CBS anchor Dan Rather, along with a campaign press release attacking Dole, seem to have made Bush look desperate and mean—qualities that hardly endeared him to Iowa's high-minded voters.

In the aftermath, Bush tried to shrug off

danger of hitting the federally mandated spending limit for a primary campaign, \$27 million before the Republican contest is over. But he will have spent more than half of the allowable total by the end of February. And Dole, unlike Bush and Robertson, has little organization in place for the big push to Super Tuesday, March 8, when 17 states hold GOP contests.

Robertson's guerrilla army will have many opportunities for ambush on the road to Super Tuesday. He will probably do

well, for example, in the Minnesota caucuses on Feb. 23, and he is working hard in Maine, which holds its GOP caucuses Feb. 26 to 28. He has already predicted victory in South Carolina, three days before Super Tuesday, and the South Carolina primary now shapes up as a key test of strength between Robertson and Bush. Bush's campaign manager, Lee Atwater, is a South Carolinian; if Bush fails there, Robertson will be riding high when Super Tuesday dawns. The key to Robertson's strength in

the South may well be crossover Democrats along with South Carolina, seven of the Republican primary states on Super Tuesday permit crossover voting. For the moment, at least, the Dole campaign hopes that Robertson will cut into Bush's strength across the South. But Dole's advisers, like almost all mainstream Republicans, are casting a wary eye on Robertson's disruptive potential. If it is true that the Robertson candidacy has a natural "ceiling," as some skeptics believe,



Memories of war: Veterans who served with Dole in Italy where he was wounded

side. Periodically there has been deep dissatisfaction on the staff and Dole has tried to deal with it in his own way. "Make my office happy. They're unhappy," he told one new administrative assistant. But most of the time he is impatient with management concerns. When Chris Bolton, a top aide, grumbled about the turf battles fracturing the staff, Dole replied, "What are you complaining about? [You're] a survivor."

**Like servants:** Staffers think he is simply oblivious to their concerns. One former and one current staff member used precisely the same words to describe Dole's attitude toward his staff. The senator, they said, treats subordinates "the way the newly rich treat servants." Dole is swift to dismiss those he considers incompetent. "If a staff member doesn't measure up to his standard, they are quickly gone," says Jo-Anne Coe, Dole's longtime senior political adviser. But he is sparing with his praise and thanks for those who do make the grade. When displeased, he cuts the offending aide off for a time. "He puts you in the deep freeze," said one former staffer. "It's mid-August and you're walking around Washington in mittens and a muffler."

Dole's staffers see flashes of his charm and legendary wit. But for the most part, said one, "he reserves that effort for those outside the family." Dole is a tough, demanding boss, but he continues to at-

tract top talent drawn by the excitement of working for such an activist senator. He likes subordinates to present ideas succinctly, in brief memos if possible. He replies quickly, and decisively, with a scrawled "Yes," "No" or "Need more." Staffers who want to ask him something learn to catch the busy senator on the fly. "There's an elusiveness about him, a hit-and-run quality," said former aide Stanley Hilton, author of an upcoming unauthorized biography of Dole.

Dole's wintry demeanor does not invite challenges from his staff. "You risk putting him in a bad mood," said a former aide. Campaign press secretary Mari Maseng insists Dole "doesn't respect you if you play the yes man." But some subalterns seem almost in awe of Dole's judgment. When Coe, who's been with Dole 21 years, was asked what she did if she thought he was making a mistake, "I don't think there ever was such a time," she replied.

Dole in the late 1970s did hire a group of high-powered finance-committee aides to guide him through the arcana of tax policy. But the authority of the group, headed by lawyer Robert Lighthizer, was tightly restricted. "They were on a short leash," says a former Reagan official. Dole's most trusted senior aides tend to resemble him. A Dole staffer described Lighthizer—a possible White House chief of staff if Dole becomes president—

as "a cold, aggressive producer, like the boss." Another aide described the tough-minded Coe as "Bob Dole in an Ultrasuede suit."

At the campaign office, Dole is now on his third wave of managers. Despite his stunning success in Iowa, staffers still joke about "the Coe-ward"—chaos. Dole partisans welcomed the arrival in November of the newest campaign manager, Bill Brock, because the former labor secretary and Republican National Committee chairman was seen as a strong figure whose judgment Dole would respect. "We can shout at each other because we're peers," Brock said. But early on, Brock learned what it was like to be undercut. After negotiating for days with the White House about just when and how Dole would endorse the president's proposed intermediate-range missile treaty, Brock got a call from a stunned Reagan aide. The aide had just heard about a Dole speech charging that the administration had managed to "stuff the INF agreement down the throat of NATO." An embarrassed Brock was equally surprised. "Using the words 'Dole' and 'management' in the same sentence is an oxymoron," lamented a Dole admirer familiar with the incident. Dismayed by Dole's continued urge to call all the shots in the campaign, Brock at one point told him: "There are two jobs in this campaign—candidate and campaign manager. You can have one."

**His way:** Dole's admirers insist that he will grow, that he can adjust his temperament and style to accommodate the campaign and, if he wins the White House, the presidency. In an interview last week with *Newsweek*, Dole said he was trying to "let go of a lot of things," but in the same breath defended his need for tight control. "You stay out of trouble that way," he said. "I think my instincts are good. I keep telling my staff, 'If I goof up, they're not going to blame you, they're going to blame me.'" Dole was suggesting that whether he wins or loses he's going to do it his way—and only his way.

just what the voters of Iowa rejected." The Bush campaign was sort of an imperial candidacy. Dole said last week "I don't think you can change that in the last three days." He may be right. Buoyed by his success in Iowa, Dole continued to bang away at what he and his advisers see as the strongest point of his candidacy—his image as a tough, decisive leader, especially when compared with Bush. At the weekend, with both campaigns pummed down by snow, Dole's I'm-a-better-leader theme got

pointed reinforcement from Alexander Haig, the first casualty of the Republican campaign. "Hopefully behind after winning less than 1 percent in Iowa, Haig dropped out of the race and endorsed Dole." "From my point of view," Haig said, "Bob Dole is head and shoulders above George Bush as a potential president."

The Bush campaign's new slogan, cynics in the national press corps joked, was "Win Big or Die"—but that woe-rack, a play on the New Hampshire state motto, could ap-

ply almost equally to Dole. Despite his recent gains in the polls and his long career in Republican politics, Dole has yet to define himself in the eyes of many Republican voters. Is he the sharp-tongued hatchet man of the 1976 campaign, or is he now a wiser and more likable man? Does he have a broad vision of the nation's needs, or is his message only an updated version of the traditional Republican gospel of austerity and hard choices? From a tactical standpoint, both he and Bush are in at least some

## Dole: A Lone Wolf

Can this sometimes-brilliant, but often aloof operator pull a team together?

By Margaret Garrard Warner

*Darkness was falling as Bob Dole's motorcade sped toward a Nashua, N.H., Republican dinner. George Bush had at first declined and then, after his Iowa loss, agreed to attend and now was to be given the coveted final speaking slot among the six candidates. Dole, in an unguarded moment, let it be known he felt his staff had failed him. "I want to know how it happened, why it happened and what we're going to do about it," he demanded. Dole's chief New Hampshire strategist, 42-year-old Concord lawyer Tom Rath, just stared at him. "You shouldn't be worrying about things like that," Rath said. "You may be the next president of the United States, and you're going to have to start acting like one." Dole, startled by the challenge from an adviser, gave a pained smile and subsided into silence.*

The episode with Rath was pure Dole. It revealed the senator's compulsive need to control every detail of his political life and his often icy, peremptory manner toward those around him. These traits haven't inhibited his success as a legislator. But Dole's operating style has already hampered his campaign—and could create problems for a Dole presidency. Dole is struggling to overcome these limitations, but it won't be easy. For one thing he must resolve a career-long paradox: Dole hires bright and aggressive people, and is so demanding of them that they once nicknamed him the Aya Dole. At the same time, he's a loner. Yet, the aloof and acerbic Dole mistrusts anyone's judgment but his own. "If you're good, he wants you, and after you

leave, he really helps you, but while you're on his staff, it's as if he's saying to himself, 'If this guy's so good, why is he working for me?'" said Assistant Defense Secretary Richard Armitage, a former Dole assistant.

Why is Dole the way he is? A war injury that left him with a withered right arm—he must rely on others to cut his meat—made him despise dependency of any kind. And some associates point to his frightful treatment in a veterans' hospital after the war, when doctors let his muscles atrophy for six months without treatment or exercise. That experience bred in him, these associates say, a deep mistrust of others' judgment. "The last time he trusted someone with his life," said a former top aide, "it nearly killed him."

On Capitol Hill, where there are many different legislative styles, Dole is a brilliant independent operator. He has superb political instincts and legendary vote-counting abilities. Soaring solos are possible on the Hill, where legislators can pick their shots. But the demands and drudgery of day-to-day management are something else again. And so far Dole has not demonstrated the executive talents necessary to run a successful campaign—or the presidency.

Interviews with more than two dozen current and former staffers reveal a lot about Dole's executive skills—and his temperament. Dole demands the best from subordinates, then often undercuts



He puts you in the deep freeze: The senator

and second-guesses them. He will make a deal with a fellow senator, and let his staff learn about it from the other senator's aides. After 27 years Dole still insists on reviewing all press releases and form letters leaving his Senate office, frequently rewriting a phrase or slipping on a new headline. He operates as his own chief of staff, dealing with a half dozen senior aides directly, making the ultimate decision himself on everything from negotiating strategy to scheduling. "Until he gets involved in something, nothing happens," said another former